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20 Cents

Labor Age

We Must Not { Starve Our Old
Work Our Young

To House the Houseless

Does Marriage Make Us Conservative?

Chautauquas for Workers

Labor Age

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WE MUST NOT—

THERE is a man in "our town" (a little village near Manhattan Isle) who is not wondrous wise. He has set himself like flint against anything that smacks of Progress. He opposes new schools, new parks, new playgrounds, new streets—even new children, for he will not allow folks with children to live in any of his houses.

He has become rich by accident, out of holding land until the coming of neighbors runs it up in value without any effort of his own. When he walks down the Main Street, the people say: "Here comes Mr. Tussler. I wonder what improvement he has his hatchet out for today?"

Will the spirit of Tusslerism become the spirit of America? Will we crush not only the new things in Life, but the humane and just things as well? Will the lounge lizard "Liberalism" of such papers as the NEW YORK WORLD succeed in enchaining the children of the workers in continued slavery? Will the Manufacturers' Associations win the fight for child labor and against old age assistance?

Here we are, facing 1925, with these simple, almost childish questions up for answer. All over our Land of the Free, the Poorhouse is the sole place of refuge for the worn-out men and women who have given their all for Industry's welfare. Scraps, like parts of the machine, in which they have become entangled, they are thrown aside so that we may all forget them the sooner. Freedom and the sense of independence are denied them. The only alternative offered them is starvation.

Jim Maurer gives a good account of the bitter battle on for these veterans of the Industrial System. Pennsylvania is in the forefront of the move to take the aged out of the Poorhouse and return them to the Home. It will cost the State less by far. It will give these men and women a normal life until the end of the trail. They can remain free, masters and mistresses of their own being, until the last sunset.

Who could object to this? The Forces of Greed. The industries of Pennsylvania, or at least some of them. The newspapers, too, at the bidding of their Industrial Masters, although in the beginning favorable to the idea. Suppression was the weapon used, as Secretary J. E. Kelly of the State Federation has shown. They printed practically nothing of the recent Old Age Assistance Conference at Harrisburg, although it was so full of value to the aged of the state.

While the assistance due the old folks is temporarily denied, by action of the courts, children go stumbling to work, mere babes in some States, to contract consumption and other diseases that leave their mark on a lifetime. They hurt not only themselves, but the standard of wages of the adult workers. Their freedom lies in the passage of the Child Labor Amendment.

For 1925, let us demand: "America, in the name of freedom, of which you prate so much—STOP starving your old, STOP working your young."

Labor Age



Battling for the Aged

By JAMES H. MAURER

SITTING BULL, the great Indian chief, once made a visit to the East, to see the Great White Father and the wonders of the Atlantic seaboard.

When his visit was at an end, he was asked: "What is the most striking thing that you have seen among the white men?"

Back came his answer, like a challenge: "That he work his young."

We work our young! Even the barbaric mind of the Indian was astonished at that. But we "free-born whites of native parentage," blown up by our "superior Nordic strain," are only awakening gradually and painfully to the evil of child labor. The battle on that issue is even now at white heat, with much of the "Liberal" press lined up with the Reactionaries to keep our children in the mines and mills and factories.

We work our young! And with equal truth could the savage chieftain have said: "The white man, he starve his old." The Machine is the concern of those in control today. The Man has been forgotten. When the worker has ceased to function at his highest point of efficiency, he is sent to the scrap

heap, with no thought of his human value or his human rights.

In Pennsylvania we have just had a chance to see this situation at close range. The champions of the Poorhouse, as the venerable institution, without which the State would come to a standstill, have come off temporarily victorious. But that cannot last long. And we who believe that the aged should be entitled to live in decent comfort, as freemen to the last, have put the spotlight on conditions which no American can long allow to endure.

Industrial Wrecks—\$3.00 a Week

The last Pennsylvania legislature, as a result of a number of years of agitation on the subject led by Organized Labor, adopted an Old Age Assistance Act. By this act an Old Age Assistance Commission was created, to pay assistance to all worthy aged. But the Commission had only the blessings of the legislature with which to pay any "worthy aged" who might be found. It was limited in its expenses to the small amount of \$25,000 for a two-year period, barely enough to make an adequate investigation.

LABOR AGE

But the Commission went to work with a will. Most of its members knew, from past experience, the urgent need for aid to the shipwrecked old folks of the state. They had seen or heard on reliable information of case after case that merited attention.

Here is an old man, for example, 75 years of age. He has worked hard and conscientiously all his life. He has followed to the letter the precepts of the present Industrial System: to waste no time in idleness, to give the full amount of labor for the wage received, to live frugally "and according to one's means." But the wage that he has been allotted by his Industrial Masters has made his entire existence a long, bitter struggle against starvation. Today he is earning \$3.00 a week, and facing the possibility of losing even that.

This good man's case could be duplicated over and over again. Spurred with the knowledge that this was the situation, the Commission set out to get the concrete facts from all over the state which would give the legislators the information they evidently wanted.

The work proceeded with dispatch. But not without obstacles. The whole story of this Pennsylvania effort is one of hindrance after hindrance, mounting up with increasing intensity. We had just requested the various county commissioners to appoint the local boards authorized by the act, when "the Poorhouse Brigade" came into court in Dauphin County, seeking an injunction against the Commission. This "Brigade" is composed of a small group of reactionary industrial interests. Although the Commission only had the \$25,000 to spend in all, this group asked the court to enjoin us from "making disbursements involving the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in great expense, to the irreparable injury of ourselves and other taxpayers."

No preliminary injunction having been issued, we went ahead with our work. Just as we were nearing the completion of the task, the Dauphin County Court rendered its decision, declaring the law unconstitutional and paralyzing our further efforts.

What the Commission Found

Despite these difficulties, a great deal was accomplished. It was on August 4th of last year that the court handed down its decision against the Commission. This was only seven months after we had asked the county commissioners to appoint their local boards. And yet, incredible as it may seem, we had succeeded in that time, with the co-operation of the county commissioners, in organizing Old Age Assistance Boards in 45 counties. This meant the

appointment of 135 persons, all of them recruited from the highest type of citizenship in their respective communities.

No greater evidence could be asked, to show the genuine need for a readjustment of aid to the aged, than this response indicates. But that is not all.

These boards everywhere were exceedingly active. Unselfishly, these men and women gave of their already heavily-burdened time. They followed up applications diligently, and turned in their reports with dispatch and accuracy. Thirty of these county boards which had completed their statements up to November 1st, sent in a total of 2,935 applications. At small expense to the county, and practically none to the State, these boards were able to decide definitely upon 1,847 of these applications, the rest still awaiting decision upon further investigation.

When the Pennsylvania Conference for Old Age Assistance met in Harrisburg on November 13th last, the Commission was able to present to those gathered there the summarized statement on 1,271 applications of old persons, received from 16 counties. Time prevented a summary of all the cases, but those presented were typical of the state as a whole. They told the story of what destitute old age really means.

The facts brought out by the summary showed that the burden of poverty-stricken old age is directly traceable to Industry itself. The "pauperism" of the sixties and seventies of life is intimately related to the poorly paid jobs of a lifetime. The talk about "shiftlessness" and thriftlessness is merely a smoke-screen to dodge a consideration of the hard facts.

Where They Had Worked

Of the 1,271 applications summarized, 421, or one-third, were engaged at the time of ceasing employment in occupations generally classed as unskilled. Of the rest, 458, or 36 per cent more, were housewives who had depended on the support given by their husbands, but whose husbands are now dead or are so disabled as to be unable to assist them. Another 8 per cent were farm laborers, whose wages and living conditions had always been of the lowest. Six per cent came from the building trades, most of them before the present higher wage scales were introduced in that industry, while about 3 per cent more were engaged in mining coal. Only a little over 10 per cent were engaged in what could be called semi-skilled or clerical occupations. But fate is not altogether a respecter of persons. In our files were also applications from doctors, lawyers,

business men and members of former well-to-do families who had lost their all and are now dependent.

Only 5 per cent of the 772 applicants stating the amount of their wages, claimed to have earned wages in excess of \$25.00 per week. Although 57.5 per cent of the applicants considered in the study were men, 72 per cent are already without any occupation that gives them an income, and 86 per cent were without any wage income at the time of filing the application. When you remember that most of these folks were compelled to quit work before they had reached their 70th year, you can see that anything they might have saved would be "eaten up" in very short order.

"Improvidence" and a Caste System

Under these circumstances, it is stupid to talk of "improvidence" in their regard. Of course, that is a fine word for the use of those, who can sit in the prime of manhood in their offices or clubs, to attack the worn-out veterans of industry.

Think of this further damaging fact: Of those who had saved something—and only one in five had done that—the average saving did not exceed \$150.00. In most instances, this small sum had been held on to, in order to provide a decent burial, even though it had been impossible ever to have obtained a decent living.

So deep in the mire of chronic poverty had these people and their families fallen, that I could not forbear, in my report to the Old Age Assistance Conference, from asking the question: "Do we have a caste in Pennsylvania?"

The answer, from the facts, seems clear. It is: "We have." Poverty of father leads to poverty of son. America, from out of its native workers, is developing a class of persons always in poverty, condemned to it from childhood and with little prospect of pulling out of their cast.

For, 88 per cent of these persons had married and raised families. On a wage which could not give them the most meagre of comforts, practically half of these men and women reared families of four or more children. Most of these children are now married with families of their own. They are generally continuing the same occupations as their parents, with but slight improvement in their earnings. That is the way that the vicious cycle of poverty works.

And 92 per cent of them were native born! Fifty-eight of them had lived in the same county all their lives!

So that Pennsylvania, proud leader of Industry in America, has built up this great Mountain of Wealth for the Few on the backs of a class, not

merely of workers but of starving paupers, whose work will not give them their daily bread.

The Cost of Escaping Hell

To this Hell of never-ceasing want they have not been condemned because of any foul conduct on their part. The testimony of their neighbors and of their employers was uniformly to their credit. Many of them had worked for the same concern for 30 or 40 years or more.

To close our eyes to justice is the only way that we can avoid the decision that Old Age Assistance is necessary, from the facts found. It is a sorely needed piece of legislation, long overdue.

But here steps in the "Poorhouse Brigade" and says in its complaint: "The cost is too great." A clinching argument, from the view of the Big Business Interests. "Economy" is their slogan—"economy" for the other fellow, the worker. A little thing like the facts does not at all disturb them. False "economy" may prove to be very dear. So it is in this case.

"The Poorhouse Brigade" figures that one-third of the persons in the state over 70 years of age will apply for the assistance and receive it. The 1920 Census shows that for every thousand persons, 26 are over 70 years of age. That would mean, according to our opponents, that 8.7 out of every thousand persons would receive full assistance. On that basis, they say this plan would cost the State over \$25,000,000 a year.

But the Commission's experience in 30 counties, after combing as best we could, shows only 1.3 persons out of every thousand applying. And that does not mean that all of these will be accepted. In fact, almost 14 per cent of the applicants were rejected immediately. It does not mean, in addition, that each one accepted will receive the full assistance of \$30 per month. As a matter of fact the pensions allowed in the 30 counties amounted to only \$20.36 per month for each.

Assistance vs. Almshouses

When that sum is multiplied by the probable number of persons who would come under the law, the total cost would come to only \$5,032,922.00 per year.

In other words: Twice as many persons could be cared for, for a little over five million dollars, as are now being housed in our almshouses for approximately six million dollars a year!

And this does not include the thousands of dollars of food consumed in the county homes, raised on the county farms.

In The Role of Joshua

ROGER N. BALDWIN, set down as a "dangerous radical" in certain quarters because of his unique insistence that American Civil Liberty should be preserved, has been cast in another role by the Dogberrys of Paterson, N. J.

"Paterson" has an ominous sound. Silk and human justice have not mixed well together. Repression of human rights is written often in the bloody history of the town.

This last year saw a strike in Paterson. The workers revolted against the wage cut in the textile industry, which preceded the election. They were met with those old, old weapons—the policeman's gun and billy. Their meetings were broken up. Then, it was that the Civil Liberties Union stepped in, as usual, to secure free speech. Baldwin arranged a test meeting for the strikers, and was arrested.

Thereupon, "in the Court of Oyer and Terminer in and of the County of Passaic" he was indicted, he and nine strikers. What reeking stench of old shams and corruptions is contained in the very name of this hocus-pocus tribunal! It is part of the superstitious mumblings by which those Sacred Cows, the Courts, hope to overawe the workers and hold them in subjection.

"With force and arms," says the indictment, drawing on legal fiction, did these strikers "together with other evil disposed persons" unknown, "unlawfully, routously, riotously and tumultuously" assemble.

"And gathered together, then and there," these savage workmen "unlawfully, rout-

ously, riotously and tumultuously did make a great noise and disturbance," and "did then and there unlawfully, routously, riotously and tumultuously make and utter great and loud noises and threatenings."

To the end that, not only were the entire police force in danger of death (a fate which might indeed have benefited the city materially), but there was great danger that the city hall would be broken, damaged and destroyed. "To the great terror and disturbance," of course, of the honest burgers of the town, who viewed with alarm the possible tax bill which might result from the breaking down of the municipal building, before the shouts of this terrible host.

Fiction is necessarily the art of our courts and police officers. Were it not for fiction, the common people long ago would have shown in concrete form their contempt for the stupidity of these High Priests of Privilege. But the stuff in this indictment is plagiarism. Not only is it taken in part out of Guizot's accounts of Medieval France. It also cribs on the Bible. Joshua is popularly supposed to have a copy-right on the trick of throwing down walls and buildings by "great and loud noises and threatenings," ever since he did the job at Jericho.

To our regret, we are disillusioned. Even as fiction-writers, the Paterson court "of oyer and terminer" is bankrupt. All its uses have flown. Were we not gentlemen, we would say "To hell with such a Court!" Perhaps as literary lights, we may be entitled to think what etiquette forbids us to utter.

By the new method we would save millions of dollars to the State, and at the same time would remove the old persons from the stigma of pauperism. This stigma is attached brutally, without regard for the fact that these folks are victims of Industry itself. It is the social duty of the State that they should be provided with a free and independent existence to their last day, and not huddled into "institutions," to be classed about with the criminals and the insane as wards of the State.

Our legal case is now pending in the highest court of the State, on appeal. The Commission is certain the verdict will be in favor of the law. If it is not, then the Mothers' Assistance Fund and the

pensions to public servants will also be in danger of "unconstitutionality."

There can be no doubt that the new step is in accord with the wishes of the people of the Commonwealth. Nothing showed this more clearly than the almost unanimous newspaper sentiment against the Dauphin County decision. Newspapers do not stand for new things, unless they know public opinion is overwhelmingly in their favor.

So, we can afford to await patiently for the result. Out of the fight that will come today or tomorrow, a new and just deal for those whom Industry has used—and thrown away.

A Workers' Chautauqua

Among the Pennsylvania Miners

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Education with a Big E is much in evidence in Pennsylvania's Labor Movement. No place more so than among the men of the pits. Arthur Gleason's quiet, thoughtful helpfulness has not been misplaced. His work continues here, in the pages set down by Dr. Laidler—out there in the hills of District Two.

A LONG night's railroad journey brought me to the sprawling, unkempt, isolated mining villages buried in the picturesque Broad Top Mountain regions of western Pennsylvania. As I jolted along through village after village in the "flivver" of my miner host, I met at every turn—on telephone poles, in postoffice windows, on miners' shacks—huge red posters announcing to all who passed:

LABOR'S CHAUTAUQUA

Washington Park, Six-Mile Run, Pa.

Beginning

AUGUST 12, 1924

And Every Night for One Week

GOOD MUSIC EVERYBODY WELCOME

"I know you think it's strange," said my companion, guessing my thoughts, "to find any new fangled experiments in workers' education in this neck of the woods. But you mustn't forget that this is a part of District Number 2 of the United Mine Workers, John Brophy's District, which worked out that plan for mine nationalization and sent delegates to the C. P. P. A. convention at Cleveland and established those Arthur Gleason scholarships at Brookwood. This part of Pennsylvania is the most natural place in the world for new things to happen."

The old miner then told me the story of the why of the Labor Chautauqua. Last spring, at the convention of District Number 2, \$15,000 was appropriated for educational work. Paul Fuller of a family of miners and an ex-preacher was appointed director of the educational work.

Fuller's first job was to select a district for his experiment. He decided not to scatter his energies, but to organize classes in one section and to stay by these classes until they were put on a fairly permanent foundation. He chose the Broad Top district, known as Territory Number Four. Throughout District Number Two the majority of the 45,000 miners were unemployed, while the minority were working but one, two, or three days a week.

In Territory Four conditions were even worse. In April of this year the operators of most of the mines refused to sign another three years' agreement. The miners thereupon refused to dig coal. Since then the vast majority have been on strike.

The strike had a number of tragic results. However, it did give the miners time to think. Fuller sought to induce them to utilize their free time by joining discussion classes. He organized seven of these classes in as many villages. The members were, for the most part, the active trade unionists. They used for the basis of discussion the four superb pamphlets published last year by the District office—"Why the Miners' Program," "Compulsory Information," "The Government of Coal" and "How to Run Coal."

The miners took to these pamphlets as ducks take to water. For they gave a survey of the mining industry as a whole, analyzed its defects, showed how the worker might function if mining were reorganized on a more human basis. Fuller didn't lecture. He merely led with questions. The miners did the talking. They discussed until far into the night and then trudged home over the hills to their shanties smoking their pipes, speculating. They continued their discussions in groups of their fellow miners in days following and talk of workers' control and public ownership and efficient management began gradually to supplant talk of baseball scores.

These small, intimate discussion groups had their effect. Something more, however, was needed. There should be a common meeting ground for the miners from the various villages. Outside speakers should be brought in to give a fresh point of view. The indifferent miners, the women and growing children and the farmers in the outskirts of the villages should be told of the ideals of the labor movement. Nor should the social side be neglected. Life held out for this community these days but scant diversion. The Labor Chautauqua was the solution.

The American Mechanics of Six Mile Run supplied a park—or a hall in case of rainy weather—right opposite the baseball field. Speakers were secured. The discussion groups spread the news, posted the placards, distributed circulars. The first night of the Chautauqua, August 12, James Mark, vice-president of the miners in the district, described

his experiences of a generation fighting for the rights of labor; told of the days when miners got thirty cents a ton for digging coal.

Several hundred walked to the meeting, some five and six miles over the mountains, to hear his message. A few came in their Fords. "Jim" spoke on a platform, illuminated by a string of electric lights hung between tall trees. The first night was a great success.

The next evening the writer described the Rise of British Labor. An unexpected downpour made an outdoor meeting impossible. But some two hundred braved the storm,—the miners came almost entirely from British stock and were interested. They sat on benches or stood quietly, earnestly, listening to the story of the growing power of their brothers across the Atlantic.

Over them three glaring electric bulbs. Behind them pictureless walls.

In the front two rows sat miners' children, 14 in a row; on the side, a group of farmers; scattered through the audience, a good sprinkling of women. A band of twenty miners, boys of eighteen, men of sixty, occupied the corner, played lustily and with a fine swing. The audience was quick to respond to the witticisms of the chairman. They heard to the end the story of labor's growing power. Then an enthusiastic not boisterous applause and the band and the discussion period.

One question unprompted, "Has the British Labor Party nationalized the mines as yet?" Other questions, prompted by Director Fuller and the State Director of Worker's Education Hogue—for the miners were diffident before an outsider. The meeting ended. A score shook hands with the speaker, told him how long they had been away from the old country and asked him to come again.

"If we weren't unionized here, we couldn't hold a meeting like this. The company would send spies and the fellows at the meeting would be fired the next morning. There are a bunch of weak-kneed miners here. I was going to ask you, just for their benefit, didn't you think we ought to do everything we could to keep up our industrial union?"

There were other meetings later in the week on co-operation, on crimes and criminals, on coal mismanagement, addressed by Brophy and Fuller and Hogue and Cheel. A picnic lunch on Sunday and the Chautauqua was over.

A small effort. But already there are talks of a district-wide and a state-wide Chautauqua next year,

with additions of community singing of labor songs and the giving of labor plays. For the miners responded loyally and the community came out and enjoyed it. If the industry is to be put into shape for the coming generation, labor must get into the breaches. That means labor must learn more about industry and government. The Labor Chautauqua is there to stay. The idea will spread.

What were the miners of this district thinking those summer days? I was curious.

About the presidential election? "If the election were held tomorrow, 95 per cent would vote for Senator LaFollette in our district. The other candidates don't have a show."

About the Ku Klux Klan? In some portions of the district the fight is intense,—in one section particularly where Catholics and Protestants are about evenly matched. The RAIL SPLITTER, a Ku Klux Klan organ from Illinois, is having its splitting effect. "The Ku Kluxers are making it pretty hot in our local," said the miners' leader in one of the villages. "They tried to put through a slate of their own, but we blocked that. There have been some fights and you can see the pro-Klaners standing on one corner and the anti-Klaners on another. The Klansmen here are all for Coolidge. They voted down a resolution to send a delegate to the district meeting of the C. P. P. A. Most of their leaders seem to be in the miners' union because they daren't stay out, not because of any love of unions. Down the line, they are working in the 'scab' mines. That's why they haven't much influence there. Yes, they seem to be dying out. Some of the fellows are getting a little nervous. They see that it's dividing us and that that's good for the boss. When the good miners see that they will quit."

The Foster group? Not at all in evidence. If there are any followers they are keeping mighty quiet.

Co-operatives? There's one store hereabouts in Defiance, that just issued a quarterly dividend of 10 per cent. It's unconnected with any outside co-operative, but it is pretty successful. Others have died out. After this co-operative stores will be started with more care than in the past.

Workers' Control? "We're all for that. We are in the mines every day. The mine owners hardly ever enter the mines. We feel that we know from experience a few things about mine management and we ought to be heard. As for nationalization, our

district is committed to it. Our members are realizing that we must do more than striking if we are to stop unemployment, reduce waste, secure justice."

"How about the high wages of you miners?"

"The day men who work on the road bed, haul lumber, etc., get \$7.50 a day, when they work. I don't suppose that they have averaged for the last year or two more than about four months of work of a five-day week during the year. The miner gets \$1.38 a ton for mining coal. For the last few months before the lockout of April, I had been getting about an average of \$6.00 a day when working on a good seam, and then, for awhile, when I was given a poor seam, my wage went down to between \$3.00 and \$4.00. This was for a day from seven in the morning till four in the afternoon. Since April we haven't worked. The operators said they wouldn't sign the agreement. Their excuse was partly that we were getting a favorable differential of about 10 cents a ton and they couldn't pay that and compete with others. But they afterwards admitted that they couldn't have given us work if our wages had been reduced fifty cents a ton. Most of our coal—a fine grade of bituminous coal—goes to the New England states, and there is no demand for it. The fact is there are too many mines."

"We have some big mines here, and many small ones," he continued. "The small fry began with small capital. The miners who work for them are never sure of their money. One operator who closed down owing some of his men as high as \$1,400 sold his mine to his brother. Now his brother wants to sign up with the union, but the unions are demanding the wages of their members first."

"You fellows from the colleges consider \$1.38 a ton high wages. But you don't count the time lost. You don't figure that after we dig the coal, we have to separate the slate from the coal; then fill the car, sometimes shoveling the coal three or four times before we finally reach the track; that the cars are not always ready and we have to wait our turns; that we get no money for the time spent in laying tracks or in placing beams; that we must buy our own picks and shovels and augurs and other tools and pay to keep them sharpened; that we supply all our own dynamite and lamps. Besides, we are constantly having to lay off because of miners' rheumatism, asthma and other diseases contracted as a result of the damp and the dust and smoke in the mines, and then come periods of unemployment and strikes, not to speak of accidents. As a result of my years' work, I am now suffering from chronic rheumatism and find it hard to sleep."

"Most of us are now in debt. We owe several hundred dollars to the stores around. Some without families saved a little during the war. You couldn't save much and pay the high prices charged and give your families a decent living. Most of us are lucky enough to have a patch of vegetables in our garden and some have cows and chickens. That's the only thing that has made it possible to develop any independence. Otherwise we would have been driven into peonage."

Any attempt at garden cities? Most of the villages consist of ugly, unpainted two-family houses with two small rooms downstairs and a low room on the second floor. The company houses, rented at \$5 and \$10 a month in such villages as Kearney and Finleyville, have no modern improvements—no gas, no inside toilet, no electricity. Water is obtained from pump or spring. Oil lamps are used. Most of the houses have the barest sort of furniture—no carpets, no curtains. Many are mere tinder boxes.

The one main highway in the villages is deep rutted. In every third or fourth village is to be found a "movie" house opened two or three times a week. The sides of the hills are strewn with slate, mingled with batches of green.

There are the better houses. I stayed at one of these—a real home surrounded by well kept hedges, fronted with geraniums and asters and backed by ten acres of farm land—and a view of mountain ranges beyond. But this was a notable exception.

"But why do the miners stay here?" "Well, from the time that a little kid first sees his father come home at night in miner's clothes, with black face and lamp and pipe," observed Comrade John Taylor, "it becomes his ambition some day to go with dad to the mines. And when they join the miners' fraternity, despite grievances, they find a comradeship that gets a fellow. You are waiting your turn for a car. You wonder whether Bill is busy. You go over to see him, and together you both go to visit Jim and swap stories. In the noon periods we get together, ten or fifteen over our pipes. If it weren't for the pay and hours and dampness and dust and accidents, mining wouldn't be half bad."

I visited the miners in the villages. I saw how they live. I went into their mines, walked sometimes a mile or more through the entry over the tracks, with feet slopping in water, and head bent to avoid hard knocks before reaching the rooms in which the miners were digging—rooms dark, damp, dusty, slanting, three feet high. I checked up the stories I had heard. I found them true.

Looking Backward

The Campaign of 1924—and After

By J. H. RYCKMAN

THE father of the adored one looked stern as he stared at the applicant for his daughter's hand. "What reason have you for wishing to marry my daughter?" he growled. "I-I-I don't appear to have any reason, sir. I'm in love."

Next day after the election, in many a marketplace, the exclamation was heard—"Great Scott, what reason did you have to vote for Coolidge?" And the reply, if any, always settled it: "I didn't have to have a reason; I am a Republican."

No other such election ever took place in the annals of democracy. More than 15,000,000 voters went to the polls and put their seal of approval on the most thoroughly discredited administration in the history of this republic—proved not only to be reeking with corruption and the betrayal of trust in high places but without the slightest title to respect or confidence on any score. About half as many more cast their ballots for Davis, heading a party without vision, principles or program, chiefly because they and their fathers have always voted the Democratic ticket and lastly, the remnant, about 4,500,000, or 17 per cent voted for La Follette and Wheeler. Only about 52.8 per cent of the electorate voted at all—a slight increase over 1920 when 49.1 per cent voted, varying in the different states from 80 per cent in Kansas to 8 per cent in South Carolina.

Six weeks before the election it looked as if no one could win at the polls. Davis was conceding 10 states to LaFollette. Having then the solid south to start with, it seemed possible for Davis to throw the election into the House with a chance to win the prize himself. Then a whipped-up panic swept the country from ocean to ocean. The workers were told they must vote to save their job and the Constitution. Either cry was enough to stampede millions.

Dawes shouted down the long reaches from Chicago: "A formidable attack has been launched on the fundamental principles of the Constitution, LaFollette leading the army of extreme radicalism has a platform demanding the public ownership of railroads and attacking our courts." Coolidge radioed: "This effort has for its purpose the confiscation of property and the destruction of liberty." Butler

gave out this gem: "The Socialist-third party is pledged to the destruction of the Constitution, the destruction of the Supreme Court." Secretary Wilbur went on record as saying: LaFollette "proposes to amend the Constitution so that Congress may pass a law already declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court."

California was flooded with broadsides, denouncing LaFollette as the foe of the Constitution. Leaflets were distributed by the millions, with a great splotch and the word "dynamite" in red at the top followed by such shrieks as these: "LaFollette proposes that Congress shall have the power to override decisions of the Supreme Court;" "Don't you want a Supreme Court to defend and protect the Constitution?" "A vote for LaFollette means the confiscation of your property and the destruction of your liberties." Gov. Richardson had this on the front page of every paper in the state: LaFollette proposes to "tear up the foundation of our temples of liberty." The effect shook Shasta. The next day you could hear the scamper of the feet of thousands hurrying to get aboard the Coolidge train. The trick was turned. Two weeks before election we knew Coolidge would carry California, the Hearst and the *Literary Digest* straw vote to the contrary notwithstanding. Reaction is now firmly in the saddle.

What boots it that in Massachusetts the same electorate which gave Calvin Coolidge 300,000 more votes than Davis and LaFollette put together also went on record in opposition to the Child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States by the same tremendous odds. No wonder the Coolidge press exults: "A major cause for rejoicing among business men lies outside the national election. That cause is the defeat of the child labor amendment in Massachusetts. Business interests captained by national and state organizations of manufacturers fought this proposal bitterly. It was buried in the Old Bay State, which was the fifth state to disapprove the proposal and its defeat in the legislature of at least nine more states is foreshadowed this winter."

In Florida where Bryan lives, Coolidge got about one-half as many votes as Davis and LaFollette

about one-fifth as many as Coolidge. And an amendment prohibiting the state from taxing incomes or inheritances was passed! In Montana and Colorado a soldiers' bonus bill went down to defeat with LaFollette. In Washington the same forces that put Coolidge over defeated a bill to permit cities to sell electric current outside the city limits, and in Missouri defeated a workman's compensation bill. Oregon repealed the state income tax law and Michigan refused to enact one. In California public ownership of water power also went down with LaFollette; although in 1912 Wilson and Roosevelt, the two great progressives of modern politics, ran neck and neck—and Reaction under the banner of Taft polled a paltry vote.

These are gloomy notes in the story of the late election. Not less depressing is the thought: how base is man's ingratitude to man. No other man in our country's history has so bravely withstood the buffetings of fortune for his fellow-men as Robert M. LaFollette. At the end of 40 years' unselfish service for them, when he had earned that peace and quiet we all hope for as the end approaches, he leaps into the breach for them once more. He asked naught from them except to strike one more blow at the ballot-box for themselves, not for him. And they falter and fumble and fall down palsied with fear under the lash of the Masters of Bread, and thus throw to the winds the one opportunity that has come to them in a generation to strike a telling blow at insolent privilege now entrenched more securely than ever in the seats of power by their inertia.

Let it not be overlooked, however, that many satisfactions remain to the 4,500,000 courageous men and women, who, undismayed, cast their ballots for the redoubtable senators from Wisconsin and Montana. In California, where the Progressive ticket was denied a place on the ballot by the Supreme Court, the LaFollette vote is 34 per cent of the whole; in Washington, 35; in Oregon, 24; in Idaho, 36; in Wyoming, 31; in Nevada, 38; in Montana, 35; in North Dakota, 37 and in Minnesota 41. In these 10 states and in Iowa LaFollette ran second. The Democratic party went into eclipse as the Liberals did in England—quite in conformity to worldwide tendency—to create a cleavage more or less distinct between Conservatism and Progressivism—between the Haves and the Havents—between labor and capital—between those who earn their incomes and those who do not.

This line-up, tending always toward a more or less clear line of cleavage, is inevitable in the long run. British Labor retires, without a majority in

the Commons. Therefore, it retires without regret. For, it well knows the Tories have no solution for any problem of the Empire without adopting Labor's program, which involves fundamental readjustments and a new spirit. Labor must, then, come back and England knows it well. England cannot recover from the wounds of war without the return of Russia to the family of nations and a long era of world peace.

Here, we know the Coolidge administration has no solution for any problem of the disaffected population. For example, the farmer has three problems: Railroad rates, bank credits and enormously increased taxation. There is no solution of the railroad problem under private ownership. There is no solution of the bank credit problem as long as the Federal Reserve is under the control of the banking trust. There is no escape from the ever-growing burden of taxation as long as the present economic order persists.

As long as it is possible for the oil holdings of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to be enhanced \$111,000,000 within four weeks after a national election, as long as the beneficiaries of privilege, endowed with the nation's natural wealth at the hands of unfaithful public servants are able to gather to themselves uncomputed billions on the count of a ballot, as long as the unearned increment of land and our natural resources amounting to \$6,000,000,000 per annum, a value created by the community, election or no election, war or no war, is permitted to flow untaxed into the coffers of private monopoly, there is no relief in sight for the farmer or any other person who earns his bread by honest toil. There is no solution of any of the pressing problems of modern life, except by fundamental economic readjustments and these are taboo while Reaction holds the helm of state.

The problems of the farmer are the problems of us all who live by toil. Paul Shoup of the Southern Pacific said the other day: "One-seventh of the income of our people (in California) now goes to taxes. We are paying three times as much per capita as we did in 1912." The situation is the same everywhere else. Last year the taxes paid in California equalled in value the whole product of farm and orchard in this fertile state and the end is not yet. The gentlemen who shouted down the forces of progress and scared the voters out of the small wit they have for politics may not be able always to repeat the trick. They may cry peace, peace, but there will be no peace until the glaring wrongs of the present order are put to rights. Progressivism, in the long run, must prevail.

To House the Houseless

British Labor's Work of Justice—Not Mercy

By ELIZABETH H. VREELAND

THE present British housing programme remains the greatest effort of that kind in our political history. The Labor Party stood in our political history. The Labor Party stood on that Housing Bill and would have gone to the country on it—out of office on it, if necessary.

This is Mr. E. D. Morel's judgment of the importance of the new Housing Bill, recently passed by the British Parliament and of the Labor Party's determination to make a real effort towards bettering the serious housing situation in England. Especially must it be borne in mind (a point emphasized both by Mr. Morel and by Minister of Health Wheatley, and applying equally to all the accomplishments of the British Labor Party) that the work of a party, not in majority, must necessarily be of a patch-work character. In his speech on June 2, before the House of Commons, in support of the money resolution for Labor's fifteen-year Housing Programme, Mr. Wheatley declared his party's proposals were frankly those of "real capitalism—an attempt to patch up, in the interests of humanity, a capitalist-ordered society."

Under the July, 1923, Act there were completed for sale 5,963 houses and there are under construction 26,027 houses (Speech before the House of Commons June 2, 1924, by The Right Hon. John Wheatley). All these houses, however, are for sale. Not a single one is for the purpose of letting. The policy of the 1923 Act was to provide more houses for that portion of the working class who could afford to buy houses which can be let. The present subsidy, offered by the Government, then, is really one of rents. It is not sufficient to qualify for the subsidy that the houses comply with the prescribed technical conditions as to size and construction. They must be definitely built for working-class occupation and be let, on completion, at the appropriate normal rents charged for pre-war working-class houses in the district. This principle, namely, that of the provision of houses of a working-class type and value for letting—is the basis of the new Housing Act and the feature distinguishing it from its predecessor.

According to the new Government Bill, Exchequer contributions are available both for houses provided by the Local Authorities and for houses pro-

vided by private enterprises with assistance from the Local Authorities. The Government is to give nine pounds per year for forty years in the case of houses provided in urban parishes; twelve pounds per year for forty years in the case of agricultural parishes.

The Local Authorities must satisfy the Minister of Health that the requirements of any town-planning scheme made, or likely to be made, in the neighborhood has been taken into account and that the rate of density of the houses will not exceed eight per acre in an agricultural parish and twelve per acre elsewhere. Houses which qualify for assistance are two-storied cottages having an area of between 620 and 950 feet and one-storied cottages, bungalows and flats with an area of between 550 and 880 feet. These dimensions allow for a four or five-room family house. To be eligible for subsidy, every house must be provided with a bathroom, except where there is no local water supply. The houses are divided into two classes, e. g., parlor and non-parlor. Appropriate normal rents are fixed by the Rent Restriction Act, allowing not more than a 40 per cent increase in rent over the rate prior to August, 1914, for working-class houses of the same type in the same district. No subsidy will be granted in respect to any converted army hut or any building which contains also an office, garage, shop or stable. Neither is a house which is built to replace loss by fire, eligible for the government contribution. Although the Minister of Health proposes to leave the details of schemes, so far as practicable, within the discretion of the Local Authorities and does not propose to require submission of all plans, specifications and contracts, certain special conditions must be observed by the Local Authorities in order to qualify for the increased subsidy offered by the government in the new bill.

The houses must be constructed in a proper and workmanlike manner, the materials used must be of good quality and every encouragement given to any new methods of construction which promise economy and speed of erection. If, for example, a Local Authority refuses to adopt a new material or method which would reduce the cost of houses without unduly affecting their suitability or ap-

pearance, a part of the subsidy may be deducted. Reasonable preference must be given to large families in letting these houses. Also, all contracts for these houses must contain a Fair Wages Clause, as specified in the Resolution passed by the House of Commons, March 10, 1909, to the effect that those hours of labor and wages must be observed which are recognized by the trade unions.

The provisions of the 1923 Act, giving a government subsidy, still remain in force for houses complying with the conditions prescribed by that Act, but not subject to the special conditions specified in the new Act. The Act of 1924 also extends the date for the completion of these houses to October 1, 1939. All of the aid to private enterprise contained in last year's Bill, is continued by the 1924 Act and the Local Authorities are enabled thus to assist individuals in building for their own occupation, by way of loans, and to help building societies by guaranteeing certain of their advances. The Act of 1924 confers on the Minister of Health power to grant assistance direct to private individuals in cases where the latter certifies that a Local Authority has failed to take the necessary steps for promoting the construction of houses.

In its original form, the Bill offered no facilities for tenants to become owners of subsidized houses. This failure of the Bill to promote ownership was termed by Tories "one of the worst blots on the Bill" and a great "to-do" was made on this point by Conservatives and Liberals as well. Mr. Wheatley thereupon made it clear that while no objection was taken to the occupier of a house owning it, there was objection to the profit-making owner who owns three or four other houses and exploits his poorer neighbors.

Ultimately, the principle of subsidizing ownership was adopted with modifying safeguards, but the instance furnishes light on the subject of the amendments to the Bill. The crying need of a new Housing Bill was recognized by all parties. It is more than could be expected that a measure rife with such technical difficulties, should not be subject to an infinite number of party amendments and party criticism, much of it frivolous and some of it helpful. The Labor Party seems to feel, however, that the Housing Act has emerged, fundamentally intact. Mr. Henry Aldridge of the National Housing and Township Council, was loud in his praise of what has been accomplished.

The present Act extends over a possible fifteen-year period and aims at the production of approximately two and one-half million houses in Great Britain. It is proposed to set up three committees

—one composed of the builders and operators, another of manufacturers and merchants of material and a third, a price survey committee. It is hoped thus to maintain due harmony between the demands made upon the building industry, the cost of labor and materials and the control of prices. The Council of the Building Industry, for example, has already declared its readiness, with the prospect of a settled building program before them, to revise their apprenticeship system, increasing the number of apprentices and shortening the apprenticeship period, declaring that it was unprofitable prior to this time, to make any changes in the apprenticeship system, since the industry was subject to such violent fluctuations.

Mrs. G. D. H. Cole of the Labor Research Bureau, expressed herself as much disappointed in the failure of the fifteen-year binding provision of the new Bill. The Local Authorities refused to be bound for that length of time. As the power rests largely in their hands, the present Bill provides for a stock-taking at the end of the three years. If, at the end of that period, the average output of houses agreed on between the State and the Industry, is not maintained, then the agreement automatically terminates.

On the other hand, if the output of houses is maintained, the agreement proceeds for a further period, at the end of which there is to be another stock-taking. In the same way, at the end of three years, there may be alterations as to the size of the houses necessary to obtain a subsidy, a topic on which there has been considerable discussion, the opponents of the Bill voicing their dread of an increase in the number of "brick boxes"—the slum district of the city.

Mrs. Cole feels, too, that such an urgent need was felt for action in the housing situation that the government was obliged to rush this Bill through, without being able to have ready as unified and complete a scheme of planning as was desirable. To this criticism that the present Bill does not go far enough in its scope, members of Parliament reply that the Bill is necessarily a compromise. Mr. Wheatley referred, again and again, in his speech before the House of Commons in support of Labor's program, to the fact that such program was not and did not pretend to be socialistic in terms. The new Bill is a compromise for the sake of quick action in the face of a serious housing crisis.

The country is, however, committed, for the first time in the history of housing legislation, to a far-reaching national policy, with the proviso for a reconsideration of terms at the end of three years.

Samuel Gompers

1850—1924

America's leading labor figure has now moved off the Stage. Of the many appreciations written of Gompers since his decease, none have had a happier background for rounded judgment than LABOR AGE. You can accordingly read this with interest, and perhaps with some new insight into his career.

HE died with his boots on. That last act was characteristic of the physical vigor and mental energy of Samuel Gompers.

No individual left such an impress on the American Labor Movement of the last century as did the man who gave up the ghost at San Antonio. In a sense he was its creator or rather, his was the uncanny second sight which saw along what paths it would go. Seeing, he lent all his energies to the task of making it go that way successfully.

Even those who at times opposed him and were impatient with his attitude on many questions agree that he gave himself wholeheartedly to the cause of Labor. Its welfare, as he understood it, was the great aim of his life career. His was a class consciousness of its own, which did not think of entering upon other fields and leaving the Movement—even when he was defeated by McBride for the Presidency of the A. F. of L. in 1894. One could scarcely conceive of Gompers in the role of a "Lost Labor Leader."

To many, looking back over his long years of activity, the philosophy of his life seems contradictory, an enigma. From within the Movement he had been attacked by some as "conservative" and even "reactionary"; from without, his utterances and acts had frequently been denounced as "radical." A member of the National Civic Federation and pro-war, on the one hand. Friend of the Mexican Labor Revolution and enemy of the courts, on the other. To understand these apparent inconsistencies, one merely had to get a view of the situation out of which he arose and the conditions which all along surrounded him.

Gompers first came upon the national labor stage in the later seventies, as the leader of the Cigar Makers' Union. This organization was as much of a sensation in those days as the newer forms of unionism, represented by the needle trades and the miners, have been during the last two decades. Grasping the practical value of craft unionism to his day

and age, he modelled his idea of workable organization after the British Labor Movement of that time—an interesting thought today, when the tendency in the political field is again to follow the British example.

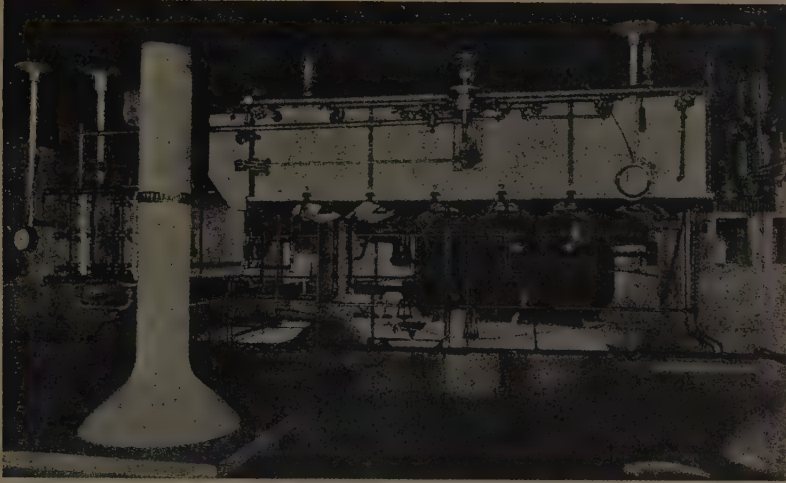
A very young man, he began his work in company with older men; Socialists, many of them, gradually becoming pure-and-simple trade unionists. He was opposed as head of the association which preceded the American Federation of Labor, and successfully, on the ground that he was the candidate of the Socialists. His philosophy was more that of anarcho-syndicalism, however, and his utterances on industrial questions have been tinged with that concept even down to the present day. He has always stressed "voluntarism" in the economic field, as opposed to State action, sometimes in decidedly radical terms.

But pragmatism was the guiding star of his labor activity—a pragmatism which some contended was entirely too conservative. To unify the Movement and keep it united was his chief aim. Finding the Movement as a whole more conservative than himself, he adjusted himself to its slower-moving sections. As harmful to progress as this seemed on first face to be, in this one important respect it was correct: That it was based on the presumption that there was no great permanent discontent in America, organized or unorganized, during the latter part of the last century. In the one form of protest which gained any huge strength politically—that of bi-metallism and anti-imperialism—Gompers took his stand with the free silverites and the anti-imperialists, so much so that he brought down on his head the temporary wrath of the Socialists.

When the La Follette Movement came to a head, he threw his influence toward it—not through any change of policy, as many said, but because he thought it the pragmatic thing to do under the circumstances.

This idea had other by-products, particularly in his decision to take an active part in organizations hostile or at best neutral to Labor, and "bore from within them" in Labor's cause. Some of the results of this policy were not so happy. Although he prevented the National Civic Federation from attacking Organized Labor, the "red" campaigns which it finally launched were part of the hysteria which came

THE TRIUMPH OF CO-OPERATION



The Cleanest and Finest Dairy in America

DEPRESSIONS may come and depressions may go, but the Franklin Co-operative Creamery in Minneapolis seems likely to go on forever. Neither panic nor "prosperity" affects it, to all appearances. Here is a view of some of the superfine creamery machinery with which the Franklin is equipped, from top to bottom.

Although Co-operation has not made as great headway in America as in Europe to date, it has endless possibilities for the future. Even Mr. Coolidge has been won to the idea of farm-

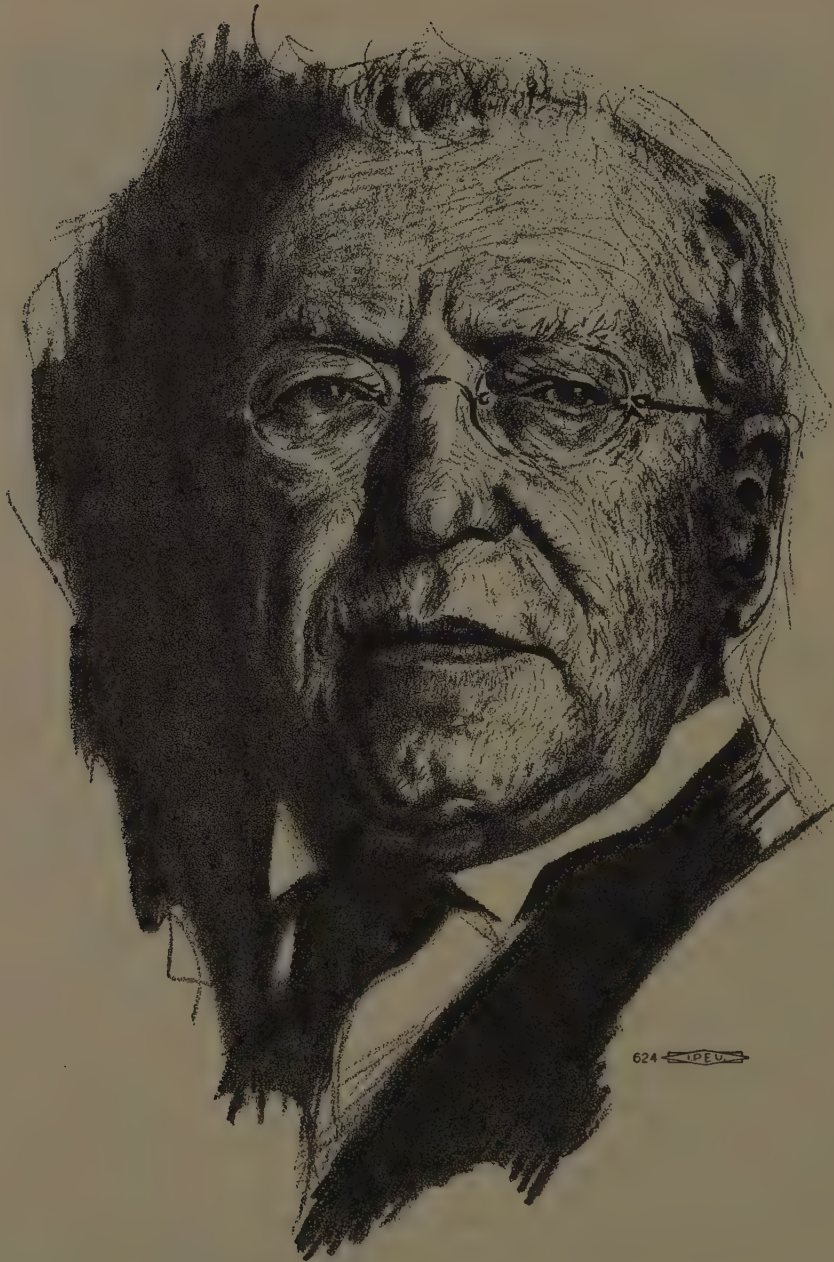
ers' co-operation. But that has been a matter of making a Virtue out of Necssity. It is safe to say that the patient work of Dr. Warbasse and his associates in the Co-operative League of America will bear more and more fruit in the days to come. The co-operative idea has been endorsed on occasion after occasion by the American Federation of Labor, which has been anxious at the same time that the right sort of co-operatives be launched. It is to the job of keeping tab of sound methods of co-operation that the Co-operative League has addressed itself in particular.

home to roost in the Open Shop drive and the recent political fight. The A. F. of L.'s program was particularly signalled out by the anti-union Dawes as "red" and "un-American."

His great, lasting service to the Labor Movement was in preventing disruption, in hammering home the need for unity, in keeping its different wings together in the common fight. It was no easy task, and it took a man of uncommon skill and courage to carry it through successfully. That skill and that courage Samuel Gompers possessed. To render tribute to

these unusual qualities, American Labor and Mexican Labor appropriately joined hands at El Paso in the final act of his life.

It was also appropriate and fortunate that he should have taken such a vigorous stand for Workers' Education at his last convention. Out of that education, as he clearly saw, will come the leadership that will continue the unity of American Labor, which he held so dear, and at the same time that education will adjust the Movement to the new era on the road before it.



Drawn for LABOR AGE by L. C. Chumley

OVER FORTY YEARS AT THE HELM

Samuel Gompers was the leading spirit in the formation of the American Federation of Labor. He understood that Movement so well that he stood at its helm for almost half a century—an unprecedented labor leadership.

In The Reign of Calvin The Dumb

Our Little Hero Sings a Song of Sixpence, Pocket Full of Rye

From the **LABOR PRESS**

A New Year—with Calvin and Conservatism firmly entrenched. Herewith we present the first chapter in a stupid story, that America fifty years from now will wish it could tear from the page of History. Unless it becomes so funny that we will preserve it in the Museum of Farce Comedy.

NOW that the waste motion of November 4th has been successfully got through with, we can devote our attention, whole and undivided, to the fate and fortunes of the Little Lord Fauntleroy of the White House.

The army tests, during the World War, showed that the mentality of the American people averaged that of an eight-year old child. Of course, no tests were necessary to demonstrate that. The fact that we were in the war was proof enough.

Now, Calvin may fall a little bit below the average; but by and large, we recognize him as "one of us." We can't applaud his picture in the movies; for "common sense" has nothing heroic about it. To tell the truth, with those tests in mind, **COMMON** sense must be a trifle lame-brained. But when he travels on a chartered Pullman instead of a special train, in the name of sacred "economy," then we all appreciate the great sacrifices he is making—most of us never having traveled out of our own township.

Meanwhile, the little red-head begins his four-year journey through Plunderland under the guidance of his faithful wet nurse, Andrew Mellon. Andrew is wet, all right; Dispenser of Booze in Pittsburg and Prohibition Enforcer in Washington. He will show Calvin the way: Calvin, of whom Abe Martin, the Hoosier jokesmith says, "President Coolidge has made several speeches, but he's stickin' religiously t' his determination not t' say anything."

And Abe is a good conservative, as a successful jokesmith on a business daily should be.

Just where the little child and his nurse will lead us, can be seen from what they have tried to do in the four years that have flitted by. The record is given by Senator La Follette in **LA FOLLETTE'S MONTHLY**:

"The sordid bribery and crookedness of Cabinet officers, the looting of the Navy's oil reserves through the connivance of officers of the Navy, the

administrative crime of the Federal Reserve Board by which hundreds of thousands of farmers were deflated and ruined, the attempt to shift the burden of taxation from the rich to the poor under the Mellon Tax Plan, the tribute exacted from the people through the Fordney-McCumber tariff, and the unjustifiable freight rates under the Esch-Cummins law, were all prominent issues upon which the Coolidge administration was arraigned in the campaign which closed on November 4th."

Then, the Senator adds in an issue later, that the corruption will go on. Those who paid will demand returns. The pap fed to the Republican Machine must be turned back in hard, golden nuggets. Nowhere can they come, but out of the Public Treasury, presided over by Nurse Andrew.

The **FEDERATION NEWS** agrees that Coolidge's recent message confirms this prophecy. If fools and children tell the truth, Calvin could qualify on both scores but directing his hand, ever, is that of Andrew Mellon. His is the "economy" cry, in the name of which he intends to rob the workers and farmers in the next session of Congress. It will be more completely under his thumb, as a result of the November landslide. Then will the Mellon tax plan be resurrected.

The **MILWAUKEE LEADER** avers that the "economy" shouting is much the same as Mr. Hoover's "waste." They are set up to hide the real "economy" and the real "waste." Says the Wisconsin Socialist paper:

"Nearly all of these wastes are directly or indirectly traceable to the private ownership and operation of the great industries—and he did not mention all the items of waste either.

"With a properly co-ordinated industrial system, production could be so tremendously increased that everybody could have plenty, and the hours of labor could eventually be shortened to an average of four per day at the most."

In the same paper Victor Berger declares that we can take it for granted that, on all occasions, Coolidge's thought is dictated by men "of the Morganatic type." He quotes Frederic William Wile, "well-known Washington correspondent," as saying: "Mr. Coolidge's closest advisor on finance and economics

is Dwight W. Morrow of J. P. Morgan and Co., the President's classmate at Amherst."

The said Dwight is the boss of Amherst College, throwing out and putting in presidents and professors at will. No wonder that one of the poor cravens there came out for Coolidge during the campaign, saying that he had deserted the Democrats in the interest of Progress!

CAN WE STOP THIS?



Militarism directs the hands of statesmen, says British labor cartoonist in the above.

The Milwaukee paper takes a crack at Dumb-Dumb for another assertion in his message: the attack on Socialism. Says it:

"Coolidge takes a slam at Socialism in these words:

"It (our country) is convinced that it will be impossible for the people to provide their own government, unless they continue to own their own property."

"As usual, this objection is—to those who understand—an argument in favor of Socialism—not an argument against it.

"The people do not own their own property now.

"If they did, Calvin and his cohorts would not be so keen to cover up the income tax facts."

"A small minority of the very rich have colossal incomes," it reminds us, and then goes on to say:

"These fortunes and incomes are by good rights the property of the people—because the people earned the money of which they are composed, and that money was gouged out of the people by all manner of legal and sometimes illegal means. Legal stealing is no more right, morally, than illegal stealing.

"It is very true that the people cannot provide their own government unless they own their own property—not in any complete sense of the term government—and they will have to take over the great industries and make them collective before they will 'own their own property.'"

The BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN'S JOURNAL expects almost anything antagonistic to the workers to happen under Calvin's reign:

"The big corporations, the trusts, the profiteering monopolies certainly had good reason to favor the Coolidge candidacy for ample is the proof his administration has given of its subservience to those interests. In Mr. Coolidge the international bankers have a president who will see to it that their policies, foreign and domestic, prevail, except where retarded or obstructed in their operation by the Progressives in Congress whom neither the Coolidge administration nor the greedy elements responsible for its incumbency can either cajole, intimidate or terrorize."

The RAILWAY CLERK echoes this sentiment, and adds that the same attitude could be expected from the reactionary Republican gang, whether there had been a Progressive Movement or not.

"We do not share the anxiety expressed in some quarters that labor as a result of its conspicuous support of the Progressive candidates, is in for rough handling by the dominant party. Labor would have received unfavorable treatment from this Republican administration in any case, so it stands to lose nothing as a result of its endorsement of the Progressives. Labor would have had to fight for everything it got had it remained neutral. That is precisely what it will have to do as matters stand now.

"Progressives will not be dismayed because one battle with the enemy of progressive democracy has been lost. They are enlisted for life with Senator La Follette 'in the struggle to bring government back to the people.'"

So, Calvin's song of sixpence does not seem to have had any elevating effect upon Labor. "Coolidge has saved our nickels," shrieked Bow-Wow Dawes, during the campaign. But he is stealing our thou-

MYTH AND FACT



Courtesy National Child Labor Committee

Work Life in the Cotton Fields—the myth and the reality. The Battle is now on, to save the child workers. What are you doing?

sands of dollars, and our millions of dollars, comes back the echo. One notable example being his zealous desire to give Muscle Shoals away—and not, for God's sake, to let the Government own and operate it.

Which moves the **DETROIT LABOR NEWS** to suggest that the Progressives should continue battling on.

ST. LOUIS LABOR adds its voice to this thought, declaring for an American Labor Party. It thinks that the organization of the Conference for Progressive Political Action is rather loose. But it pleads for unity, on the British plan, as follows:

"Let us not fight about a name. Let us perfect the organization of the movement when the January convention meets. We do not want a centralized political third party movement. It would be a failure.

"What we need is a Political Labor Federation along the lines of the British Labor Party and the Conference of Progressive Political Action gives us a sound foundation for such a federated political movement!"

But how about a platform? On that point it rises to declare:

"Should it not be class-conscious? Well, make it as class-conscious as you will. But if 'class-conscious' platforms could make political movements America would have to be leading the International Socialist and Labor movement today. But America isn't. If we need any real 'class-conscious' platforms for this new movement, we need not make any new ones, for there are at least 59 or more in the archives of the Socialist-Labor Party, Socialist Party, Communist Party, Workers' Party, etc., etc.,—one more scientifically conceived than the other.

So let us not waste time and energy. If play we must, let us play with the political playthings already on the shelves of history."

Both of these papers think that the action of the A. F. of L. at El Paso has no effect on the fortunes of the proposed party. The former says that "although the position of the trade union movement upon the general political question sounds the same in words now as it has for years, it is in fact quite different." "A certain dynamic spirit" has been developed, so that today American Labor is "politically active" rather than "politically passive." The only hope for the C. P. P. A. is a "move toward a new political party."

While these said thoughts are being uttered, the soggy state of New Jersey unfolds a drama of rum-running that all the world knew about, from Calvin down, for many moons past. None knew better than Walter Edge of New Jersey, Senator and advertising agent, whose machine in Atlantic City is one of the most corrupt in the nation. But it took an indiscreet Catholic priest to lift the veil. Since when, there has been such running around in circles on the part of the Department of Justice as was never seen since the "red" raids. Whether all the excitement is to uncover or re-cover up the crooked bootleggers and their crooked official protectors is as yet a public mystery. Any one who has watched Mr. Mellon's Overholt Distillery at work, could give the answer.

To little Calvin's song of sixpence—about "economy" and all that—can now be added "a pocket full of rye." The dumb one is learning his nursery rhymes rapidly from the Chief Bootlegger of Pennsylvania.

Ethics Among Ourselves

A New Labor Outlook Free From Commercialism

By HARRY KELLY

Read—and ponder. We are strictly neutral, but Brother Kelly herewith gives us all food for thought.

SEVERAL years ago I dropped into a restaurant on Columbus Avenue, in the uptown section of New York for lunch, seated myself and rather absent-mindedly gave my order to the waiter.

A moment or two later another waiter came up suddenly and whispered, "Don't eat in this place Comrade Kelly, it's a rotten joint." Then he darted away before I could realize what he was doing.

Looking about for an explanation and seeing only a few people in the place, I wondered whether there was a strike on. "Perhaps I had sauntered in without seeing the pickets."

In a few moments the man came back and repeated what he had said before. So I enquired as to the trouble: "Was there a strike on and was he sabotaging on the restaurant keeper, or, if not, what was the matter?"

No, there was no strike. It was simply that he knew me in the "movement." As the restaurant, although outwardly a fairly good looking place, was in reality very dirty inside—he as a comrade, wanted to warn me. He further recommended a small place in the next block which, although much less pretentious looking, was in reality, he said, far cleaner and better.

This incident is typical of many such which have occurred during my thirty years of experience as an "agitator," and its like must surely be familiar to others similarly engaged. It is to be listed among the compensations of that much maligned person, the "agitator." It would be a mistake to consider such incidents as personal. My own experience, at least, has been for the most part with people unknown to me. They are expressions of solidarity—class solidarity, as a rule, but oftentimes social solidarity—which is broader and even embraces the former. They are acts of men and women who, sympathizing with a certain movement, feel themselves members of a brotherhood working for a common cause. As such, they wish to protect as far as they are able members of their sect from possible danger or exploitation.

To those who mouth platitudes about the brotherhood of man, while engaged in exploiting their fellow

men, such actions as those described will seem very narrow and worthless. To those who believe, or talk about, self-interest being the only basis of unity, it will be "Moralizing."

Of that, of course, no one who believes in "economic determinism" could be guilty. But after thirty years spent among trade unionists and "radicals," the feeling grows upon me that a great source of weakness in the Labor Movement lies less in any forces outside, than in the unethical attitude many of its members adopt toward one another.

For this reason it seems to me that to those who advocate the socialization of industry and believe that the Labor Movement is the new society in the making, the necessity for a higher standard of ethics should be obvious. At present it is unethical to scab, and unions frequently rally to one another's aid in times of strikes or now and then unite on some public question. These qualities and others that can be noted are desirable and praiseworthy, but insufficient. There is another practice that is almost universal, which to all intents and purposes nullifies them, a practice which strikes at the very heart of the Labor Movement.

In a society organized upon the basis of cut-throat competition and varied standards of remuneration and living, it would be absurdly self-righteous and smug to inveigh against one set of workers because they get ten dollars a day while others get only two or three. This unbalanced state of things exists in spite of the fact that all labor might be equally useful and society, if properly organized, provide for everyone. It is a problem which can not be solved except by a complete change in the prevailing economic system. Inequality of wages or working conditions will exist so long as there is capitalism or even collectivism, for the theoretical basis of both is payment for service rendered.

While "Payment for Service Rendered" Exists

But, granted that inequality does exist, that is no reason for men of the same class, professing the same principles, to sabotage one another. This sabotaging of one group of workers on another group was dramatized some time ago in rather a startling manner by the conviction of Brindell and the exposure of graft and extortion prevailing in

some of the building trades of New York City. Many men and women barely eking out a living, forced to pay from twelve to fifteen dollars a month per room in New York, suddenly learned that it was partly due to some leaders in the building trades. Not because they had by organization forced wages up to ten and twelve dollars a day, but because they were grafting on the builders, who in turn passed it on to the landlord, who passed it to the tenant.

Orthodox Marxian Economics insists that all profits work their way back to the capitalist, and that ethics are pure nonsense. Nevertheless, those realistic workers in other occupations than the building trades felt, and had a right to feel, that such acts are as unethical as those of the worker who takes the place of another worker who is on strike. They also found it very difficult to draw a hard and fast line between the psychology of John Jacob Astor, the ground landlord, and those leaders of the building trades. However, it must not be understood that we are writing a diatribe against Brindell or the building trades; there are certain features peculiar to this industry because of the greater ease wherein the workers can control their product, but there is hardly any industry that is free from some similar practices.

"Commercialism Degrades the Worker"

At this juncture it may be mentioned by some that trade unionism is a business like any other business. It is simply an organization of men or women engaged in the same craft or calling, to enable them to sell their labor for a higher price and to obtain better working conditions. This is a view which William Morris, a poet, (and poets, by the way are universally in advance of scientists and "realists") had in mind some thirty years ago. Then he said, that while capitalism robbed the worker, it was commercialism, its twin brother, that destroyed his creative instinct and degraded him. It is impossible to think of a society where industry will be socialized while men have such an outlook. But even the struggle for immediate improvements or a maintenance of existing standards is crippled and robbed in this way of much of its real strength.

To those who have the acquisitive or capitalist psychology and scoff at "ethics" in the Labor Movement (or those who so interpret "economic determinism" as to make a fatalistic principle of it), this will have little appeal. Dog *must* eat dog and capitalism *makes* men poison and rob each other through food doctored or prepared in a filthy manner, rotten fabrics or shoes, jerry-built tenements with the air space reduced below even the meager

requirements of the law, fire escapes shortened an inch or two, and so forth.

"This is all the result of capitalism and capitalism must be destroyed before it can be done away with," we are told. Meanwhile "revolutionists," reformers and labor men go on fatalistically, sometimes even cheerfully, degrading themselves and injuring others. Because "the sum total of human misery or happiness cannot be affected by individual action!" All of this is said while they sit side by side in the Central Labor Bodies, Socialist Locals and Anarchist Groups, talking platitudes about the "solidarity of labor." "Utopians" insist however, that progress comes from striving for better things rather than from rigid laws working toward predestined ends. The Labor Movement is what it is—good, bad or indifferent—not only because there have been men who have felt the necessity of organized resistance against a force stronger than they as individuals. It is also what it is because other men have fought to instill into that resistance an ideal. A short-sighted self-interest may bind members of a union into a unit to exploit members of other unions. But because of the absence of an ideal, the moral fibre of the Labor Movement is being sapped and destroyed. It is another proof of the law of selfishness discussed in "Plato's Republic." If it continues we will be afraid to invite friends to our houses "for fear they will carry off the spoons." No social life is possible with such a philosophy. The trade unions by sabotaging on one another are wabbling around in a vicious circle.

Workers for the Commonweal?

We are living through a period of great social change and various experiments are being made in Europe in the form of social and political organization. Our turn may come, probably will, within the next few years. If it does, can any serious person conceive of the members of unions, no matter what principles they *profess*, who "sabotage" on each other constantly, being fit to take over industry and to operate it for the Commonweal? If he can, he is the greatest "Visionary" of all time.

It is impossible for men with the psychology of the cut-throat and capitalist to change over night. It is equally impossible that men who have acquired the habit of doing bad work and bleeding one another, like carpenters, plumbers, tailors, waiters and a hundred others, will shed them and become devoted workers of the Commonweal the following day. Habits are neither acquired nor abandoned over night. Just as it took a long time to create a Brindell, so will it take a long time to destroy him.

LOOKING AHEAD

Our Offerings for Next Month

The New Year finds us preparing a number of New Features for your edification and information.

BROTHER BROWN will begin a series of travels through America in the next number. Brother Brown is a wise old owl, who has worked hard, seen a lot, and has a humorous view of life that's worth while catching. You will get the infection from his articles on Seeing America First.

THOSE LITTLE "REDS," OUR CHILD WORKERS, will give a human interest account of our American child workers, and what their laboring means to YOU.

WHY WE SHOULD WORRY ABOUT MUSCLE SHOALS is something that no worker or housewife

should miss. The big fuss going on now about the Government's plant there is hidden in a cloud of dust. Senator Norris, the man who is leading the fight for the people, will tell LABOR AGE readers why he is doing it—and why you should support the battle he is waging.

WHERE WILL AMERICAN UNIONISM GO IN 1925 is chuck full of fireside interest to every one of us. It has a lot to do with all our pocketbooks. If you don't believe it, read this article and be convinced.

A NEW LABOR NOVEL and a **NEW AND WORTH-WHILE CONTEST** will be begun in the February number also.

Don't fail to look forward to these morsels that our editorial office is making ready at this hour.

This is said in no spirit of condemnation toward individuals or groups who feel themselves in a vicious circle and are debased by prevailing standards of morality. Neither is it a plea for a "Fair day's work for a fair day's pay." Millions of men and women work long and honestly at dishonest labor. It is not a question of a man putting in so many hours a day working intensely or continuously for a certain wage. It is a question of honest work honestly done and of a spirit of class solidarity at least, that will make one group refuse to injure another group. This is not a dream or an impossibilist proposal, as can be seen in the Building Guild Movement in England. With more than a hundred building guilds in existence and from fifteen to twenty million dollars worth of contracts in hand they refuse to accept a cent *profit* and whenever the work done is performed for a sum less than the contract price that sum is *returned to the consumer*. Arising out of such an attitude on the part of Labor will come a restoration of the creative spirit and then of that social solidarity without which life is hardly worth the while.

Why the Artist is Envied

The artist, in spite of the cheap sneers leveled at his long hair and flowing tie, is the envied of all

men—even when he lives in a garret and goes hungry. Men recognize in him something to be envied. That something is the creative spirit and the quality of really being one's self. Apart however, from this purely idealistic aspect, the finest strategy a union could adopt in its struggle for better conditions would be to insist on honest work against the employer who is willing to cheat the customer as variously as he can.

It sounds a trifle hollow now, when the bakers wait until there is a strike in their trade before they tell the consumer that tubercular men bake bread in filthy underground cellars. What people ask is, "Why wasn't this told us during peace times for *our* benefit, instead of waiting until a time of strife when you appeal to the very men and women whom you have been poisoning?"

It requires men of strong character to be rebels against a custom almost universal; and it is too much to ask them to be heroes or martyrs. But for young hotspurs, there is a chance waiting here to challenge the ethics of labor. Both honor and profit await that organization that has the courage to refuse to join hands with the employer in degrading men as well as robbing them.

Does Marriage Make Us Conservative?

By PRINCE HOPKINS

AN article in the May *LABOR AGE*, entitled "The Feminine Mind," told how a woman tends to take her husband out of the radical movements in which he formerly engaged. But the withdrawal of men from active participation in causes which enlist their fervor before they are married, isn't due to "petticoat intrigue" alone. The man's mind, of its own accord, tends to undergo changes as a result of the new biological situation.

The bachelor is a more or less homosexual animal. By this, I don't mean that he indulges in perverted or corrupt practices, but only that he tends to have as much interest in men as in women. The unmarried are more inclined to go about with members of their own sex. They frequent meetings mostly attended by their own kind and inhabit clubs, etc.

It's significant, that many such organizations are called by the name, fraternities; that's to say, brother-groups. Their members, and the members of labor organizations, call each other by the name of brother. They think of themselves, in other words, as a younger generation, as "the boys," with the implication that the elders, another generation, are put over them.

But this state of mind is simply calling up again that of childhood, in which there was always a certain antagonism between "us brothers," on the one hand (always prying into things that are none of our business, always experimenting and innovating) and, on the other hand, the parents, representatives of authority (always endeavoring to keep us in our places, to make us observe the proprieties and "behave properly"). In other words, the unmarried still retain the psychology of rebellious youth, and see in all conventions, sacred institutions, and authority, the devices of the fathers to spoil their fun.

Youth and "Left"-ness

How in keeping with this is the fact, that the Youth Movements now flourishing in many countries of Europe, almost everywhere have a tinge of "red." Except until now in our own well-subsidized and immunized colleges of America, universities have generally been hot-beds of radicalism! Notice also that the movement in America, which has been most persecuted on account of its "left"-ness, is the I. W. W., recruited chiefly from non-family men. This relationship between unmarried-hess and radicalism will be found to hold true, even where the situation doesn't present such dangers as would cause the wife to urge

that her safety be considered before the demands of the union or movement. This is a more direct thing of which I'm speaking—the spirit which prevails before marriage of youth leagued against the elders.

That same homosexuality to which this spirit is due, is the cause also of another quality, a spirit of greater altruism. The relationship is seen among insects: those kinds which work for the good of the swarm instead of the individual, are characterized by a neuter sex. Among ants or bees, there are only a small number of males (drones), and these, after a brief lazy life, are slaughtered. There's one queen—the only fully developed female. As to the workers who toil all their lives for the good of the hive, their sex-organs are stunted.

The ancient Greeks encouraged friendship between men and men in the military associations called fraternities. They honored this more highly than love between men and women, because they thought that the former tended more to promote heroism. In modern countries, the entire population is misled by propaganda to think that to become a soldier is a great calling; yet the married are ready enough to take advantage of the dispensation which the government accords them, and let the less calculating youngsters fight for them.

In the greater readiness of the unmarried to try new social forms, or to risk themselves on the military or industrial battlefield, there is, of course, a third factor. It is the greater recklessness of the young. But what's the cause of this recklessness? In part, it is that they've not been so much sobered by difficulties experienced and in part, that they've not been shocked out of the childhood attitude, which felt that the worst results of a mistake would be shouldered by parents.

However, the greatest of difficulties in the way of new reforms, is the indifference of that married portion of mankind which has lost, with its homosexuality, its altruism and its daring. One of the most sobering of experiences is precisely that of passing from the group of forward-pressing brothers who are eager in sympathy and ready, for the sake of a great hope, to risk imprisonment or the fury of the mob and graduating into the group of the elders, the settled-down and the stand-patters.

Families Aid Conservatism

And now, *WHY* must the married as a group, be so indifferent?

First of all, are the more obvious considerations set forth in the previous article already alluded to, and such as are incidental to the greater property interests of the elders.

With a wife and children to look after, there is a bigger risk involved than before. A man who may be willing to take a sporting chance on getting into jail himself for radical activities, will balk at the additional torture of seeing his family on the streets. Usually the wife, as by nature the more sheltered, less schooled in life, and hence more conservative of the pair, continually reminds him of this fact. As the children grow older, they add their voices to hers, clamoring to have material blessings enjoyed by the children of neighbors who have no ideals to interfere with their pursuit of the dollar.

Then, in proportion as a man has accumulated property, he risks a greater actual amount of it by radical activities. I have in mind the case of a wealthy pacifist in California. During the war-persecutions, in 1918, the government, going back on its guarantees of free-speech, fleeced him by a "fine" of \$25,000. Usually, the married man is older than the unmarried, and so has put by a larger store, and is more afraid.

As a result of changed circumstances, there gradually springs up a different psychology in the married man. He settles down into a new *habit* of thought. When his family have sufficiently dinned their point of view into his ears, he tends to accept it as so completely his own, that even if they died, it would be long before he could again think on social questions as he did in the old days. When he has safeguarded his property for a number of years, he comes to think more in terms of property and less in terms of human beings, and will continue to do so until speculation reduces him to beggary.

Moreover, there's something very pleasant about comfortable safety. One who has graduated into it, and experienced its satisfactions for a few years, finds that, like a drug habit, it has become very dear to him.

Fathers vs. Sons

But, besides all these obvious reasons why the married are apt to be more conservative than the unmarried, I believe we shall find a strong, though subtle one in the fact, that the married man no longer feels himself to belong to the generation of the sons, but to that of the fathers. There are many causes for this change.

For one thing, he comes to have children of his own, between whom and himself the father-child relationship necessarily arises. The freedoms he used to seek when a boy, no longer seem safe to him when

demanding by his own son—so he alters his whole point of view, little by little, with regard to the value of freedom. The authority which often seemed so arbitrary when wielded by his own father, now seems right and necessary when he himself is the person to wield it. He confers with other fathers, a little older than himself, with regard to the obstreperousness of the new generation. Gradually he finds himself becoming converted to the theory that the fundamental need of the world is discipline and a firm hand.

Again, when he was a child, all property was in the hands of "the old man," who was very loathe to part with it, even for things that seemed absolutely vital. But now, he himself is the "old man" in this new family group. What now seem to him the vital needs, he attends to, and can do so all the better if all expenditures he doesn't approve of are kept down. The unequal division of property which before marriage seemed so unfair, now, therefore, is looked at in the light of one who profits by such inequality in his own family.

But I have still to come to that upon which the family is fundamentally based—the tie between man and wife. However little a child may consciously admit such a fact to himself, he's almost sure to love one parent better than the other, and to be jealous of attentions paid to anyone but himself.

Thus, the boy usually loves the mother, and under all his regard for the father, there's hidden a bitter rivalry with the father to possess the mother exclusively. The father, in his turn, reciprocates this hostility—his very comradeship may be an attempt not to give away the fact that, underneath, he is annoyed by this intruder.

This rivalry between the sons and the fathers is enormously important. Just because it's so hard to confess to, it subtly poisons the relationship between the two generations. The elders can't but think it only right and proper that the young men should tramp the streets for work, should be mangled by unprotected machinery, and should stain with their blood the fields of Flanders.

Of course, there are some sons who love their fathers better than their mothers. Such sons generally grow up from the cradle as good conservatives, or at least as sharers of the paternal views. But generally a son will reject whatever views are particularly dear to his father, unless he transfers the hostility toward this parent to some substitute, as, for instance, to his employer.

"I Used to Think That Way"

And as the father sees his children inclining, upon the whole, towards the left in their political views,

this secret hostility towards them will often lead him toward the right. "I used to think that way too, when I was your age; but now I know better." Really, the sons may know much better than the father, who will complacently have let his facts get rusty, as a sort of implication that the question which the sons are so keen upon aren't really worth troubling about.

We've seen, that the homosexuality of the unmarried biologically urges them toward altruism. When a man takes a wife, and settles down to married existence, his hetero-sexual love is awakened. He therefore loses much of his old-time altruism, since love-energy, like any other kind, isn't unlimited in quantity. The married man to some extent, narrows his love circle down to the limits of his own family; from a larger aspect, he has regressed into a more selfish being.

The most striking case in which the opinions of sons and fathers are set in opposite directions by the opposition of their desires, arises on the question of the marriage institution itself. That sacrament which gave his mother wholly into the hands of his father, naturally remains under a cloud for the boy, although he may react against this feeling by a conscious acceptance of the convention. In later youth, his normal sexual desires become strong, but he finds it difficult to give them gratification, except in unsatisfying, degrading, and unsafe ways. His rebellion against marriage now reaches its height. He probably loves some maiden, who loves him in return, but they can't afford to marry and support children; this makes him a rebel against the institution of property and an advocate of birth-control.

But when at last this fellow gets married, he finds in the conception of the sacredness of this institution a safeguard for his newly acquired marital rights over his beloved. He feels that he no longer needs to exert himself to remain in her good graces against rivals. So he becomes the avowed enemy of the doctrine of free love. Once it promised him opportunities, now it becomes a menace to his privileges.

The above are only a few of the many complex motives at work under the surface; but they may be enough to show that neither the radicalism of the unmarried, nor the conservatism of the married, is determined wholly by the political, economic or other facts about which they argue. The latter largely are selected by the individual unconsciously, out of the vast armories of facts which can be found for both sides of every case. They're selected as supports for what will be the more pleasing point of view—the view more congruous with one's present interests.

ARE YOU CONSERVATIVE? Through Marriage or Otherwise—



Then gaze upon this picture by Ryan Walker of the "Angel of the Steel Mills," think of the subjection of the workers there, and become at least "Liberal" again.

The knowledge of how these motives work may enable us to waste less time in a futile type of argument with people who have hidden motives for not wishing to be convinced. It may enable us to see where their real difficulty lies and so at least to start the argument with all cards upon the table.

Still better, it may enable a few of us to discount somewhat the bias which may make our views impossible, or those retreats from a position once reasonably arrived at, which are due to nothing but a change in our present condition of life. It may warn the unmarried not to be over rash nor over optimistic, and the married, to guard against hiding cowardice and selfishness under the excuse of more mature experience.

A UNION CHILD CONFERENCE

YOU who have read of *THE PIED PIPER OF HUMANTOWN* will prick up your ears at this further bit of news: A Labor Conference for Child Development will take place in New York City on January 27th. It will lay the foundations of Pioneer Youth on a nation-wide basis.

The anti-labor propaganda of the Chambers of Commerce must be combatted, not only within the schools, but without. Organizations, playing to Militarism and the Powers that Be, abound in the child field. An honest-to-God labor organization for boys and girls must come, to point the path to freedom.

Sixteen heads of international unions, district councils of internationals, and state federations have launched this conference, the call for which has gone out to all the local unions in New York City.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, in Co-operation with the Board of Editors

MORE KEYHOLE WORK

LABOR spies are very much akin to those Peeping Toms, who look through ladies' windows or through keyholes on most inappropriate occasions. Of the two, the spy is much the worse.

"As low and despicable as is this 'trade,' it is not surprising that gentry of this type should be discovered in Labor's ranks from time to time. Some of them are big fish; some of them are little. But they all have certain outstanding characteristics.

We note in the current issue of the *MACHINISTS MONTHLY JOURNAL* of the uncovering of another spy in Pennsylvania. That great industrial state, center of the battle for workers' freedom, has its full share of these shady gentlemen.

Brother David Williams of the Executive Board of the International Association of Machinists tells of the exposure. A certain Richard L. Lindsey was the gentleman in question. He was a trustee of Lodge 52 of Pittsburgh, and President of District No. 6 of that city. Williams found that the said "Brother" Lindsey, for many years a member of the union, had been employed by both the Sparks Detective Agency and by the "investigation department" of the American Bridge Company.

"His reports," says Brother Williams, "were edited by the crook, Walsh, exposed sometime ago, and copies were sold to the Employers' Association." To which he adds: "Our Association is now rid of another traitor who valued the few dollars he received from our enemies more than the sacredness of his obligations to our Association."

So it goes. Proving, by the way, that Senator Wheeler's bill for a Federal investigation of labor spy agencies should be pressed to passage.

HIS SPIRIT MARCHES ON

A YEAR ago *LABOR AGE* reported the sad news of the death of Arthur Gleason. Then could we write: "When the Workers' Education movement has spread over this country, when it has given to America the new generation of labor men to carry on the work of the present pioneers, Arthur Gleason's name will be mentioned in golden letters as one who saw with a clear vision what was to come to pass."

How happy would he be to hear the news that the American Federation of Labor has decided to support the Workers' Education Bureau through a per capita appropriation! How satisfied, in his quiet, unassuming way, to learn of the success of Brookwood! How pleased to know of the growth of

LABOR AGE itself, which he had named and which he always encouraged along the way it had chosen to go!

His spirit marches on in all these achievements. At Brookwood the Arthur Gleason scholarships are giving education to three miners this year from District 2. Even the things that he wrote are doing their good work. In the current issue of the *INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS JOURNAL*, that able magazine edited by John Frey, we read again his fine paper on Workers' Education.

Out of it we quote these words for meditation and remembrance:

"This is the heart of workers' education—the class financed on trade-union money, the teacher a comrade, the method discussion, the subject the social sciences, the aim and understanding of life and the remoulding of the scheme of things. Where that dream of a better world is absent, adult workers' education will fade away in the loneliness and rigor of the effort.

"But there is no one road to freedom. There are roads to freedom. So workers' education will include elementary classes in English, and entertainment for the crowd. But the road for the leaders of the people will be straight and hard. Only a few thousand out of the millions will take it. It is a different, a new way of life to which the worker is being called."

Two things stand out in this quotation: first, the need for a close connection between workers education and the labor fight in the trenches and second, beyond that in this education, the vision of a future world with Labor fully triumphant.

The two things are not inconsistent. The one but aids the other to fulfillment.

UNION LIFE INSURANCE

MORE labor adventures in business!

To labor banks and credit unions has now been added a union life insurance company, under international union auspices.

While fighting for public ownership and operation of a super-power system, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has had time to launch such an undertaking.

The name of the company is the Union Co-operative Life Association. Its officers, the officers of the Brotherhood. Its place of business, the International Association of Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.

Its capital is \$100,000; its surplus, the same. During the first week of operation, applications for \$1,600,000 worth of insurance were received.

The Brotherhood declares that it will be able to conduct the insurance plan with but little extra expense to itself, and at a great saving over the big overhead costs of the private insurance companies.



The threat of socialization in Britain and Australia from the Labor Parties, appearing in the AUSTRALIAN WORKER just before the fall of the Labor Party's first Government, is shown in the first cartoon. Mr. Baldwin's real Gog and Magog—his bosses, in other words—are seen in the second picture, just depicted in the LONDON DAILY HERALD. The cartoon was occasioned by Baldwin's statement that Churchill and Chamberlain were his Gog and Magog—but Labor says his bosses are really Coercion and Big Business.

Recent years have seen the insurance business increase by leaps and bounds, until today it is the second largest business in this country.

Union insurance will also serve to break the control of this rich field by private industry. By their loans to big industrial enterprises, the insurance companies have become a great power in the financial world. By linking up labor insurance with labor banking, the internationals hope to effect a wider democracy in the World of Credit.

"SCABBING" BY SO-CALLED LABOR PAPERS

WHERE a man's pocketbook is, there will his heart be also. In nine cases out of ten.

A labor press, privately owned, is a contradiction. It becomes a private profit enterprise, not a journal supported by a movement. The Movement has been too lenient with paper of this private-ownership class in the past. Their bad records have discouraged the workers, and have caused some of them even to turn on their own legitimate press, which they confused with the private bunkum handed out by the individual owners.

The UPHOLSTERERS JOURNAL points to a recent case in point. The MID-WEST NEWS, a "so-called farmer-labor weekly, edited by J. A. Lochray in Omaha, Neb.," is the paper in question.

From the beginning of the recent campaign this paper supported the candidates of Organized Labor, La Follette and Wheeler. It gave news stories and editorials favorable to the Progressive ticket. This happened up to and including the issue of September 26th. In that issue it ran two strong La Follette

editorials, one of which stated in part: "The opponents of La Follette have no argument. His personal life and public record speak for themselves. Therefore, they are already resorting to slurs, mis-statements and near slander."

But in the October 3rd issue, an entirely new stand is taken. A double-column, first page editorial proclaims the virtues of Coolidge and Dawes. The La Follette-Wheeler ticket is attacked as "dangerous." No doubt whispers went around as to the reason for the change. An editorial appeared in due course, entitled "Every Man Has His Price," attacking the whisperers, and saying that only the most patriotic of motives had caused the flop to the arch enemies of Labor.

Thereupon, Mr. Lochray was hauled before the Borah committee. The light was turned upon his dealings, and the discovery showed that he had received \$1,000 from the Republican National Committee for his "patriotic" conversion.

"We shudder to think," comments the UPHOLSTERERS JOURNAL, "how wild the editorials would have been had Lochray been given \$2,000."

To which it adds:

"The incident proves the enemies of labor realize the value of the press and that they are ready to corrupt all whom they can reach in order to befuddle the people.

"Organized Labor must build, own and support its own press in every community, so that the truth may be told and our cause not betrayed.

"The privately owned labor paper, run for the benefit of an individual is, as a rule, a menace and will bear watching. "Let the unions own their press."

That is the only way to prevent scabbing by the press—politically or economically.

CHURCHES, GAMBLERS AND THE UNEMPLOYED

With Some Thoughts on "Confiscation"

A FINANCIAL Upheaval is on us, says C. W. Barron, mouth organ of the Wall Street Gambler, in his weekly of December 15th.

Gold to overflowing is pouring into the pockets of the Big Business speculators. To it he points with pride. "All that was wanted to complete the sum of United States prosperity was the drowning in the country of the reds and the radicals, the labor bloc and the farmer bloc, all gathered politically behind La Follette."

A new crop of multi-millionaires is what he prophesies as the outcome of La Follette's defeat, and the wild gambling of this and the coming year.

At the same time these multi-millionaires are coming into being, a crop of poverty-stricken wretches march from "the Tub" in lower Manhattan and take possession of a church, about to go out of business for lack of a congregation. They are led by Urban Ledoux, the man who auctioned off unemployed men on Boston Common two years ago.

"The number of unemployed in New York City is greater than it has been for many years," Ledoux tells a reporter of a morning paper, citing the head of the Holy Name mission as authority for the statement.

Mr. Barron declares that the downfall of La Follettism is a victory over confiscation. For, La Follette would have taken from the railroads, says he, \$12,000,000,000 in valuation. Twelve billion dollars, yes, which the Interstate Commerce Commission is stealing from the people! That is the Wall Street Gambler's version of "confiscation."

How moral are his thoughts upon this subject! "The damage by confiscation might have been less than the damage by the public steal of private property." The latter would break down the "moral fibre" of the nation, whatever that may be.

But while the gamblers gamble on the Stock Exchanges, and while Mr. Barron writes homilies on the virtue of thievery from the people, Ledoux and his band of ragged starvelings do exist, down in the bowels of the Great City. Now and then, they come into the light of day, when they seize a church for the night—"confiscating" it for just that long.

Some day, as Mr. Barron's multi-millionaires increase, and these wretches also increase in numbers, they may decide no longer to be content with merely a partly-abandoned church. They may find something desperate and violent surging up within them, at their fate as "freemen," caught in the tape of the immoral stock ticker.

On that day, there may be some real "confiscation." That same group which enters a church without permission and makes of it a sleeping place for the night, can just as well in swollen numbers march into Wall Street itself and play havoc with the icons

of the Holy Faith of Private Property there. It is against such an evil day that La Follette had wanted to guard. Evidently, Barron and his ilk are merely made of the same stuff as the Bourbons. They prefer to lay the foundations for their own complete overthrow.

HOUSES THAT JACK DIDN'T BUILD

NURSERY rhymes are in season, with the holidays just passing away. And no nursery rhyme is of longer or more honorable standing than the "House that Jack Built."

For the workers of the East Side in New York, another jingling tale will have to be invented. Houses are to go up there, built not by Jack but by something or somebody very different. They are not the results of individual effort, but of group activity.

"Unions to spend \$1,000,000 on homes" ran the newspaper headings in Gotham on Christmas Day. The needle trades organizations announced their plan for erecting model apartment buildings for the workers. The plans are being worked out through the International Union Bank, owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers, Fur Workers and Cap Makers, and the Amalgamated Bank, owned by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Needle trades workers are compelled, by housing conditions in New York, to live in crowded sections of the city, paying more rent than they can reasonably afford to pay. The hope of the unions is to provide apartments which can rent for \$8 to \$10 per room. Gardens, children's playgrounds and "breathing spaces" will be provided.

The first effort will be in the erection of a block in the slum districts. This will kill some of the present bad housing. At the same time, it will substitute new and modern homes. If this experiment works, as it undoubtedly will, then further building will be undertaken. Thus, will some of our slum sections be cleared away, as is being done on a large scale in London.

The needle trades have gone far toward routing ill-health in their industries. They have insisted on sanitary shops and have taken such curative and precautionary measures as the Union Health Center. They have regulated their industries, for the good of the consumers, as few unions have done. They have put a stop to the terrors of unemployment by the out-of-work insurance schemes, which the employers are compelled to unite in securing. They have made a decided success of the labor banking idea. They have pioneered in workers education.

With all of this, they have maintained their belligerent attitude for the further and further welfare of the workers. The control of industry by the workers themselves is their final goal. Theirs has been a great idealism, practically applied. To them, in this additional effort, all Labor can wish "God-speed."

IN EUROPE

TRADE UNIONISM'S 100th BIRTHDAY

EVEN in Winter, vegetation goes on in some form or other. If there are not roses and violets, bay berries and holly and spruce make a winter's walk a joy forever.

The chilling blasts of Economic Reaction which have swept over the British unions have not dimmed the ardor of the workers in recalling the one hundredth anniversary of the British Movement. That anniversary dates from the parliamentary act of 1824, which made trade unions lawful bodies. Before that time, they were outlawed, existing as secret societies, to escape the long arm of the authorities.

The battle for trade union freedom was led and won by Francis Place. A master tailor, his shop was one of the centers for all the agitators of the time. Denied the right to appear before Parliament because he was not a member nor a gentleman, he nevertheless directed the entire fight from his tailor shop.

The past year has seen one hundred years roll round since unionism's triumph. It also marked the eightieth year since co-operation was launched in Great Britain, the sixtieth since the founding of the International, and the fiftieth since the first Labor members entered Parliament.

It seems a long jump from those ancient days, and the glance back at the progress made fills us with new courage.

WAR IN PIT AND ON STAGE

ONE word—"crisis"—alone explains the situation in the British mines and on the British stage.

These two industries, so far apart in their form of work and in their scene of action, are having labor difficulties.

That "collapse of the coal industry" and "degradation of the standard of life in the coal fields," which Cole reports as the result of the War, still continues in Britain. (For the background of this long Gethsemane of the British miner, nothing can be read with greater profit than Cole's book—*LABOUR IN THE COAL MINING INDUSTRY*, Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York).

Thus reads the present story in the *LABOUR MAGAZINE*: "The position of the miners in the country grows daily more acute. Reports are constantly being received recording the closing of pits and the resultant unemployment." From April to October, inclusive, 180 mines were said to have closed in the South Wales district, affecting 80,000 men.

In the Bristol coal field, negotiations for the reopening of the mines have broken down. The mine

owners are evidently determined to keep the pits closed down permanently, all but one.

There is something insane about a state like this, which does not permit coal to be dug at a time that people need it most. Thousands are freezing in the great cities, such as London, and thousands of miners are starving for lack of work, such as those of Bristol.

On the stage all is not peaceful, either. The Stage Guild, which is the employers' association, has sought to secure a new contract, which would hit the actors and actresses pretty hard. The special clause which hurts is the request to be able to put 25 percent of the company on a salary below the minimum agreed upon. This would lead to a "sweating" of the rank and file of the profession, which the Actors' Association—their union—will not allow.

Victory no doubt will perch upon the banners of the actors, just as it has on those of their American brothers and sisters.

DANES AND DUTCH

NONE know better how to raise up bogeymen, to scare our hysterical capitalists, than one Lothrop Stoddard.

"Reds" and such like he beholds at every corner of his tory, lurking there to assault the private virtues of those shrinking captains of industry, even as tramps and strangers send fear into the heart of many a psychic maiden.

With what delight do we note, therefore, his unbounded praise for those Scandinavian nations of the North of Europe—the "Nordic North," as he poetically terms them.

Lothrop is a little hard pressed. According to his thesis, (it is all set down in his recent book, *RACIAL REALITIES IN EUROPE*, published by Scribner's Sons) the Nordics are the cream of the earth. The Germans must be shown to have some blemish, since weren't we saying that they were begotten of Satan only a short time ago? Conveniently, he finds that they are not pure Nordics, any longer. The English, in some mysterious way, are more Nordic than the race from which they sprang. The Scandinavians are the most Nordic of them all—although one would glean that the bulk of the Nordic virtues had been copyrighted by the Anglo-Saxon.

It is a bit embarrassing to find that the Danes and Swedes, at least, are following the same labor philosophy which is cherished among so many of the Semitic sons of Israel. But Lothrop ignores that altogether. The Socialistic tendencies of the Swedes and Danes he sets down to a beautiful love of peace, now settling down on this portion of the race which

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has done more battling than any other on the face of the globe. The answer must not be found, of course, in their "red" labor philosophy.

Surely Premier Stauning of Denmark would declare that to be the answer, despite Mr. Stoddard. The premier is the head of the Social Democratic government, which came into power early last April. (The elections had returned 55 Social Democrats and 20 "Left Radicals," against 73 members of the Right groups and one of the German minority).

Peace through disarmament is only part of the labor program in Hamlet's Land. A tax on fortunes was another cardinal point, the one that probably swept the left groups into control. The "radicals" would not go along with this Social Democratic proposal, however, for the time being, and it is still buried in committee.

With the opening of the October Reichstag, the disarmament proposal was introduced. The military budget will be cut from 65 million crowns to somewhere from 15 to 20 million crowns. This is brought about by decided reductions in army and navy.

Of Holland, Denmark's neighbor across the North Sea, we also have recent news. It is suffering at present from the attack on wages and hours. The railway unions have agreed to a cut of 9 percent in wages, under an agreement lasting until July, 1925. At the Rotterdam docks attempts have been made to extend the 8-hour day into a 10-hour day.

Despite this assault on the union movement and despite the small number of Social Democrats in Parliament, Labor was able to take the lead this last year in cutting the armament proposals of the cabinet. The movement, both politically and industrially, is very young in Holland. But the Youth Movement, co-operating with the Social Democrats, is exceptionally strong. It holds the promise, in great part, for the future.

THE "BOURGEOIS" SOVIETS

WE cannot suppress the hope that the NATIONAL REPUBLICAN will ask George Bernard Shaw to write a word of greeting for them. But alas, the editors of that organ of Normalcy probably do not know that G. B. S. exists.

Accidents will happen, however. If such an unexpected thing as our hope were to occur, our Tories might learn to their surprise that Mr. Coolidge's "common sense" was most nonsensical and that his economy was the height of the uneconomical.

The masters of Russia have just been given some information of this character. The paper, *ISVESTIA*, requested the author of *BACK TO MATHUSELAH* to give his opinion of the state of affairs in the Land of the Soviets. He responded, by telling them that their present ideas were almost co-equal with Methuselah's in time of origin. Far from being "modern" or "proletarian," they were following word for word



TROTSKY'S FORERUNNER

Mme. Alexandra Kolontai was one of the first of the Communist leaders to differ with the controlling powers. She was sent to Norway as Ambassador, and thus removed from the scene of activity in Russia.

the utterances of two old bourgeois professors, sitting in a "bourgeois" villa in Germany many years ago. These said professors were none other than Marx and Engels, whose movement had long ago outgrown them, Shaw averred.

In order to be of service to the radical movement in Western Europe and America, the Soviets should chuck the Third International, he declared. As it was, they were merely helping to strengthen reaction in the rest of the world.

A preposterous piece of advice, no doubt quoth the Triumvirate in charge of Moscow's destiny—and then probably suppressed it. They have just suppressed Trotsky, for saying much less.

The former Minister of War is not only under the ban, but his book "1917" has been put on the Bolshevik Index. "Thou shalt not read it" is the verdict of Moscow to the faithful—and the unfaithful, too. The Roman Index is made to look like a piker. Not only is the book withdrawn from circulation in Russia. The hand of the Infallible Soviet reaches to America. The Communist *DAILY WORKER* announces that the New York *VOLKZEITUNG* has been ordered to stop printing it.

THE MAN MOREL

MY friends, it is a great Movement, this Labor Movement of ours. It is greater than any of us who are in it. We come and go as the days pass. It is greater than our leaders. They, too, play their parts: they come, they go, they pass as dust before the wind.

"Death? Death is nothing! Death cannot stop us! It is the cause, the cause which is immortal!"

Such were the concluding words of E. D. Morel, in his speech during the recent British campaign, delivered at Caird Hall, Dundee, on Sunday, October 25th. Four days later he was returned to Parliament, overwhelmingly victorious in his district. Two days after that, on October 31, he left for London—over 20,000 people collecting at the railway station at Dundee to see him off. Twelve days later, he was dead.

"But his memory shall never die," says FOREIGN AFFAIRS, which he founded and edited, "and the causes for which he gave his life will live forever."

Courage of a rare quality was this man's, and crowded into his life were a series of crusades against evil that ennobled him for all time in the memory of the Labor Movement of the world.

Twenty-five years ago, a young man still in his twenties aroused the whole civilized world to the horrors of the Congo, almost single-handed. Leopold of the Belgians had ruled with blood and iron in that one million square miles of land known as the "Congo Free State." The land was drained of its rich rubber and ivory for the benefit solely of that monarch. The natives were not only robbed, but treated with fiendish brutality. The Congo lay like a foul miasma swamp in the heart of Africa, to the eternal discredit

of the white man. Yet none dared speak out, so that the world would hear, against this earthly hell.

It was the youthful Morel who raised his voice to denounce the evil. An obscure clerk, but recently married and without funds, he threw down the gauntlet to one of the most powerful and unscrupulous groups in Europe, in his merciless book *RED RUBBER*—until after 13 years of agitation, Leopold was forced to surrender. The Congo had been freed. At least, to the extent that native rights had been restored.

Then, with the praises of Europe ringing in his ears, he was called on almost immediately to another test of courage. The war broke out. Morel opposed it. With MacDonald and others, he joined in forming the Union of Democratic Control, looking toward a just peace. He was the secretary and moving spirit of the enterprise from its very beginning. Out of it sprang the magazine, *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*, which has provided such contributions toward a just settlement of European problems.

In 1917 he was sentenced to six months in prison for having sent two of his pamphlets against the war to Romain Rolland, the French author. The charge against him was purely technical, due to the fact that Rolland was living in Switzerland, not in France. After his release from prison, he joined the Independent Labor Party at a large meeting arranged to honor him. Since that time, he has fought unceasingly, day in and day out, for the Labor cause in Britain and throughout the world.

From such men do we all draw strength to continue in the battle that knows no end but Death—or Freedom.

LOST—THREE FRIENDS

AGAIN has the hand of Sudden Death erased good friends of this publication from the Roll of Life.

Last year in our January number we were called on to report the passing of Arthur Gleason, who suggested the *LABOR AGE* name and encouraged us all through the trying first days of its existence. He went without notice, suddenly, ill only a few days.

Now, out of a clear sky comes the tragic taking-off of Albert De Silver, that genial Liberal, who loved all men. He always repeated that we must give more attention to humor in these columns. "All reformers take themselves too seriously," he would say, "let's laugh at ourselves and others once in a while." Then he would laugh for his own part, for laughter was naturally part and parcel of his fine nature. Of independent income, he was one of those who held a good name in the search of

Truth better than riches, and good favor better than silver and gold.

Three days after Albert's death came that of Charlie Sweeney, who had sat in on our early counsels. Who can forget the charm and good fellowship of Charlie, his shrewd humorous sidelights on character, and his love for the Irish? He was but 32, and Albert but 35.

As suddenly there also passed from the scene John Voll, President of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Union, whose interest had been whetted in the direction of workers' control. He had just agreed to accept a place on our Board of Directors when his life was snuffed out.

Three men who thought in human terms have gone. Their fervent wish would be, that we raise up others to carry on the torch of human welfare, which they have dropped. We will not forget them or what they have done.

THE LABOR AGE IDEA

A Letter to You

WITH the year 1925, this magazine goes well into its Fourth Year.

Service to the Labor Movement has been the key to the effort of LABOR AGE. Geographical and trade lines divide the different sections of the Movement. One union or group frequently does not know what other unions or groups are doing or thinking, in a constructive way.

To deal with the new acts and thoughts of Labor, without regard to Dogma of any sort, has been our aim. To give a full account of Labor's progress in brief and simple terms, so that they can be read easily by the man who runs, has been the means adopted to tell the story.

We have kept close to Labor in its fight in the trenches of here and now, and at the same time have shown glimpses of Labor's future, in the ultimate control of Industry by the workers.

Among the practical results of our pioneering efforts have been:

The LA FOLLETTE MOVEMENT—which we pointed out before any other publication realized the way the Labor political fight would go in 1924.

The ARTHUR GLEASON SCHOLARSHIPS at Brookwood—which we suggested and District No. 2 of the Miners put through.

The EMPHASIS ON WORKERS' EDUCATION as a TRADE UNION PROJECT, owned and controlled by the Movement itself.

The ENCOURAGEMENT of New and Pioneering Methods in the field of Organized Labor, preparatory to Workers' Control of Industry.

No other publication in America is carrying on this important work of informal workers' education and information, free from dogmatic entanglements. LABOR AGE is alone in its field, keeping Labor thought and action open for continued progress.

WE INVITE THE CO-OPERATION OF UNIONS
AND INDIVIDUALS IN MAKING OUR WORK FULLY
EFFECTIVE.

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